A SEVENTH

Collection of Papers

Relating to the

Preſent Juncture of Affairs in *England.*

VIZ.

I. Propoſals humbly offered in behalf of the Princeſs of *Orange.*

II. The Heads of an Expedient propoſed by the Court-Party to the Parliament at *Oxford*, in lieu of the Bill for Excluding the Duke of *York.*

III. An Account of the Irregular Actions of the *Papiſts* in the Raign of King *James* the Second, with a Method propoſed to rid the the Nation of them.

IV. The Preſent Convention a Parliament.

V. A Letter to a Member of the Convention.

VI. An Anſwer to the Author of the Letter to a Member of the Convention.

Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

London printed, and are to be ſold by *Richard Janeway* in Queen's-head-Court in *Pater-noſter-Row*, 1689.

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I. Proposals humbly offered in behalf of the Princess of Orange.

II. The Heads of an Expedient proposed by the Court-Party to the Parliament at York, in lieu of the Bill for Excluding the Duke of York.

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London printed, and are to be sold by Randal Taylor in

Propoſals humbly offered in behalf of the Princeſs of Orange, Jan. 28.

IT is a Maxim of the *Law of England* concerning the Government, That there is no *Interregnum.* Of neceſſity there muſt be a Change in the Perſon, yet there is a Continuation of the Government. Which ſhews the Prudence and Perfection of the Conſtitution, in preventing that, which of all things is moſt Deplorable, a Failure of Government. This Rule is therefore of that Importance, as not to be given up upon the trivial Saying of *Nemo eſt hæres viventis.*

'Tis true, the common and ordinary cauſe of a Change in the Perſon that is inveſted with the *Royal Authority*, is Death.

But we are now in a rare and extraordinary Caſe, where the King is living, and yet may be ſaid to be diveſted of the *Royal Office*, as having by his Encroachments upon the Peoples Rights, provoked them to reſort to Arms; and being vanquiſhed by that Force, followed with a total Defection from him, and his Relinquiſhing the Kingdom thereupon, without providing any ways for the Adminiſtration of the Government.

This ſeems to be a *Ceſſer* of this Government, and may in Civil and Politick Conſtruction amount to as much as if he had died.

But becauſe this is a *Ceſs* of that nature that requires a Judgment to be made upon it, it ſeems neceſſary to have a *Convention* of the Eſtates of the Nation, to make a Declaration thereupon (for 'tis not for private Perſons to determine in the Caſes aforeſaid, how or when the King has loſt his Government) and till ſuch Authoritative Declaration made, the King may be ſuppoſed in ſome kind of poſſeſſion of the Kingly Office.

But after the Judgment made and declared, there ſeems to be no difference in the conſequence and reſult of the thing, between ſuch an extraordinary caſe of the *Ceſſer* of the *Royal Dignity*, and the

eaſe of Death or voluntary Reſignation; or as if the King had been profeſt, and made himſelf a Recluſe in a Religious Houſe.

Then it muſt devolve upon the next Heir, her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Orange*.

As to the pretended Prince of *Wales*, if there had been no Suſpicions as to his Birth, (as there are many violent ones) yet his being conveyed into unknown Places, by Perſons in whom no credit can be repoſed, and at an Age which expoſes him to all manner of Practices and Impoſtures, touching his Perſon; then can there hereafter be no manner of Certainty of him, ſo as to induce the Nation ever to conſider any Pretence of that kind.

Theſe things being conſidered;

Firſt, Whether will not the declaring her Royal Highneſs *Queen of England*, as next in Succeſſion, be the ſureſt and beſt Foundation to begin our Settlement upon; rather than upon a groundleſs Conceit of the Government being devolved to the People, and ſo they to proceed to Elect a King?

Secondly, If that Conceit of devolving to the People be admitted, Whether muſt we not conclude, that the Miſgovernment of King *James* the Second, hath not only determin'd his Royalty, but put a period to the Monarchy it ſelf? And then 'tis not only a loſs as to his Perſon, but to the whole Royal Family.

Thirdly, Whether thoſe Perſons that have ſtarted this Notion, upon pretence of giving the Nation an opportunity of gratifying his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, in proportion to his Merits (which it muſt be acknowledged no Reward can exceed) if they were ſearched to the bottom, did not do it rather to undermine this Ancient and Hereditary Monarchy, and to give an Advantage to their Republican Principles, than out of any Affection and Gratitude to his Highneſs? For if the latter was that they had the chief reſpect to, would it not be the more proper way to declare her *Royal Highneſs Queen*, which will immediately put the Nation under a regular Conſtitution and poſture of Government? Then it will be capable of expreſſing its Gratitude to the Prince of *Orange*, in matters touching even the Royal Dignity it ſelf, without making ſuch a Stroke upon the Government, as the Electing of a King, or making any other immediate Alteration in the right of the Monarchy (before the Parliament is compleated and conſtituted in all its parts) muſt amount unto.

The

The Heads of the EXPEDIENT *propoſed by the Court-party to the Parliament at* Oxford, *in lieu of the Bill for excluding the Duke of* York.

I. THAT the Duke of *York* be baniſh'd during his Life, five hundred Miles from *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories to them belonging.

II. That the whole Government, both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, ſhall upon the demiſe of the King, be veſted in a *Regent*, for ſuch time as the Duke of *York* ſhall ſurvive.

III. That the *Regent* be the *Princeſs* of *Orange*, and in caſe of her Deceaſe without Iſſue, or with Iſſue in Minority, then the Lady *Ann*.

IV. That if the *Duke* have a Son educated a Proteſtant, then the ſaid *Princeſſes* reſpectively ſhall ſucceed in the *Regency*, during the Minority of ſuch *Son*, and no longer. Which obviates an incurable Abſurdity in the former Bill of Excluſion.

V. That the *Regent* nominate the *Privy-Council*, and they to be, or not to be approved in *Parliament*, as ſhall be judged ſafeſt upon directing the drawing up of this intended Act.

VI. That notwithſtanding theſe *Kingdoms* (out of reſpect to the *Royal Family*, and *Monarchy* it ſelf) may be governed by the ſaid Regent, in the Name and Stile of *James* the Second, *&c.* yet it ſhall by this intended Act be made Capital for any to take up Arms on his behalf, or by a Commiſſion not ſigned by the ſaid Regent, or not granted by lawful Authority, derived from and under ſuch Regent; or to maintain an Opinion, that the retaining the ſaid Name and Stile, ſhall in this caſe purge the diſabilities impoſed by this Act, or elude the force thereof.

VII. That Commiſſioners be forthwith ſent to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, to take their Oaths that they will take upon them the execution of this Act, and that their Oaths be here recorded.

VIII. That all Officers, Civil and Military, forthwith take Oaths to obſerve this Act, and ſo all others from time to time, as in the Act for the Teſt.

IX. That his Majeſty would graciouſly declare to call a Parliament in *Scotland*, in order to the paſſing the like Act there, and recommend the ſame; and the like to be done in *Ireland* if thought neceſſary.

X. That in caſe the ſaid Duke ſhall come into any of theſe Kingdoms, then he ſhall be *ipſo facto*, totally excluded, and ſhall ſuffer as in the former Bill, and the Sovereignty ſhall be forthwith intirely veſted in the Regent, upon ſuch his coming into any of theſe Kingdoms.

XI. That all conſiderable *Papiſts* be baniſh'd by Name.

XII. That their fraudulent Conveyances be defeated.

XIII. That their Children be educated in the *Proteſtant* Religion.

By theſe means theſe three Kingdoms will be united in defence of the *Proteſtant Religion*, his *Majeſty's Perſon* and *Government*, and a ſure Foundation laid of an effectual *League* with *Holland*, and conſequently with the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, in oppoſition to the growing Greatneſs of *France*.

☞ *'Twas thought fit to reprint this* Expedient, *that the Reader may compare it with the Bill of Excluſion, (which may be ſeen at large in the Debates of the Houſe of Commons, lately publiſhed) and judg which was the greateſt Evil of the two*, viz. *that which would have ſet the Duke aſide, and given him liberty to live where he pleaſed, or that which would have ſtrip'd him of all Power, and baniſh'd him* 500 *Miles off, and left him only the Name of a King. An Excellent Expedient indeed!*

An Account of the irregular Actions of the Papiſts in the Reign of King James *the Second: With a Method propoſed how to rid the Nation of them.*

By a Perſon of Quality.

THE dreadful Revolutions, Plots and Conſpiracies, which have been promoted by the Roman Catholicks in *England* ſince the Reformation, are of that nature, and have cauſed ſuch fearful Convulſions in our Church and State, that it is a great Argument of the Goodneſs and Providence of God, that we have been able to bear ſo many Shocks, and to avoid ſo many deep Deſigns as have now twice within the memory of Man brought us to the brinks of Ruin.

We muſt be very impious or very ſtupid if our laſt Deliverance has not been able to make us adore the boundleſs Goodneſs of God towards us his ſinful and unthankful Servants; he, having defeated the Hopes, and totally overthrown the Contrivances of that reſtleſs, implacable, perfidious Faction, when they ſeemed to be in ſuch a Condition that they need fear nothing, but the Almighty Power of God, miraculouſly exerting it ſelf, as in the caſe of *Sennacherib*, which they neither feared nor ſuſpected.

The Non-reſiſting Doctrine had ſo ty'd the hands of the Church of *England* Men, that they thought they might ſafely inſult over us, and ridicule the Bond that bound us to our good Behaviour. The Diſſenters were, as they thought, ſo obliged by

by the Liberty of Conſcience, and the fulſom Applications they had made to them in many ill writ pieces, and by the Favours beſtowed on *Pen* and *Lob*, the two Patriarchs, as they would have been thought of that Party: That they not only ſuſpected no oppoſitions from them, but really conceived they would have been more than *Scaffolds* in the ruining Deſign they had then on foot. The Gentry were reduced to the utmoſt degree of Contempt, and the Nobility, who only were capable of putting a ſtop to ſuch notorious and impolitick Encroachments on our Birth-rights and Liberties, were not only cloſeted, examin'd, re-examin'd, turn'd out of their Stations, brow-beaten, ridicul'd at Court, and in ſhort, driven into the Country; but they were alſo by all the Arts that were poſſible rendred odious to the Crown, contemptible to one another, and of no uſe to their Inferiours.

The Army, which was the next great Engine to bring about their Deſign, was managed with more Art than is commonly conſidered; for firſt there was a Party of Roman Catholicks mixed with the Common Souldiers, to be as it were Spies and Tempters, to creep into all the places of their reſort, to obſerve their Words, Looks and Actions, and to take the opportunity of all their Needs, Crimes, Vices and Follies, to pervert them, and draw them over to the Church of *Rome*; and in the mean time to ſecure them from contriving any thing that might interrupt their Projects upon us. Secondly, They puniſhed all who deſerted the Service with the utmoſt Rigour and Severity to keep up their numbers. And thirdly, They ſent them to quarter in thoſe places that had in any degree refuſed to comply with their Wills, and not only ſuffered, but encouraged them to outrage, and ſometimes to murder their Hoſts; but to be ſure in all places they very much impoveriſh'd thoſe that entertain'd them, and in the Interim they kept all in awe and quiet, whilſt the State-Mountebanks practiſed upon their Lives, Conſciences, Liberties and Properties.

A People thus haraſſed and beſet, one would have thought had been conſigned to Ruin and Deſtruction; for where could our Deliverance begin? The Parliament, which is our laſt reſort, was at the ſame time practiſed on with all the Art and Addreſs that the Wit of Men or Devils could invent; and he muſt be of a deep Reach, or a Sanguine Complexion, who in the beginning

ning of *September* laſt could hope to ſee a Free and a quiet Parliament meet and ſit one Month, to repreſent with any degree of Liberty, our deplorable State and Condition, much leſs to redreſs any of our Grievances.

We had one Hope, which if they had left us ſtill, we had certainly been as quiet and patient as *Job* himſelf, and that was, that the Princeſs *Mary* of *Orange* would, when God thought fit, ſucceed his Majeſty, and then we promis'd our ſelves a Day of Redemption from all our Calamities and Oppreſſions; ſo that our Poſterity would at worſt ſee better days. To deprive us of this remote Comfort, that Scene was laid, and the Lady of *Loretto* ſollicited to procure a Prince of *Wales* to reduce us to an utter Deſperation of any Redreſs for ever. And now they thought they were ſo ſecure of the Day, that they might attack the Heretical Biſhops, and the whole body of our Clergy at once, and make them eat their own *Dung* in the Faces of their reſpective Congregations; if they had comply'd, the whole Nation would have abhorred them, as a parcel of Cowards; if they did not, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion was to have mowed them down by whole-ſale; and when the People had been once deprived of their faithful and learned Shepherds, the Wolves in Sheeps-clothing hoped to have had much better Succeſs than hitherto: but the Biſhops interpoſing ſo, united the inferior Clergy, that this Deſign proved abortive, and the declaring the Biſhops Petition a Seditious Libel, and ſo much the more dangerous becauſe penn'd with great Modeſty and Humility, ſo far opened the Eyes of all Men, that the moſt Ignorant ſaw nothing leſs than the Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion was aim'd at.

The Army however, which was the great Wheel in this moſt dreadful Machine, was for the moſt part Proteſtant, and had expreſs'd ſo much Joy at the acquittal of the Biſhops, in the Camp at *Hounſlow-Heath*; that they clearly ſaw, till it was new-modell'd, it could not be relied on; and therefore the *French* and *Iriſh* were to be invited over, and the Companies changed by degrees: and when ſix of the Officers at *Portſmouth* had with the greateſt Humility imaginable, only deſired leave *to fill up their Companies with ſuch Men of this Nation as they judged moſt ſerviceable to the King, or otherwiſe that they might be permitted, with all imaginable Duty and Reſpect, to lay down their Commiſſions*;

miſſions; for this Offence they were brought up Priſoners to *London*, and it was given out they ſhould be hanged, as perhaps they had been, if *Monſieur de Avaux*'s Memorial given in at the *Hague*, had not come in that very Poſt to enlighten our little *Stateſmen*, and ſhew them their approaching Danger, and yet after all, the 10*th* of *September* laſt they were caſhier'd at *Windſor*.

And when the Storm from *Holland* ſeemed unavoidable, with what Inſolence did they treat the Eleven Propoſals made by the Biſhops, and the Petition preſented the 17*th* of *November* laſt, by the Biſhops and Peers about the Town? So that till the Army began to go over to the Prince of *Orange*, and the greateſt part of the Nation had declared for him: No Parliament was to be thought of, and the *Diſpenſing Power* was the moſt Sacred of all the Prerogatives of the Crown.

That we may not imagine all this was undertaken, and entred upon without good Conſideration of the Difficulties the *Roman Catholicks* were to met with, I would deſire the Reader to peruſe a ſmall Piece by them publiſhed in the Year 1685, during the firſt Seſſion of Parliament of *James* the Second, ſtil'd, *Salus Britannica, or the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, againſt all the preſent Apprehenſions of Popery*, in *Folio*. 'The Deſign of 'which, as the Author himſelf tells us, is to examine what 'National Operation or Influence a Real Popiſh Crown'd Head '*can* have over the Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates of *Engliſh-men* 'as now enjoyed, and the Religion of the Kingdom, as at 'preſent Eſtabliſh'd, and by confuting even the moſt ſubſtanti-'al of their imagined Dangers, to diſſipate thoſe falſe fears of 'Popery, *&c.* page 1. And in truth I believe no Man can deny but he has very effectually proved, that it is utterly impoſſible for a Popiſh Prince, who has none but theſe Three Kingdoms, to ſet up Popery in this Nation, and that all he can gain by the Attempt, will be the Ruine of himſelf. And certainly they could not but apprehend this might poſſibly, if not probably, be the Event; yet after all, King and Kingdom was at laſt to be ſacrificed to the holy See of *Rome*; and on they went when they had proved it impoſſible to ſucceed.

I need be the leſs exact in ſetting down what they have done, it being within the ſpace of four Years laſt paſt, that they have had the management of Affairs, and ſo all things are as freſh in

all

all Mens Memories, as if they had been acted but yesterday: I think then, that I may from these Premises safely conclude, that a more daring, restless and implacable Faction never appeared under the Sun than this is; And that it is the Interest of every true *English* Protestant, of what Perswasion soever he be, to do his utmost to free this miserable Nation from the Danger and Fear too (if it be possible) of ever feeling again the dire Effects of Popish Zeal, or rather Fury.

Our wise Ancestors, for above these three hundred Years, have been labouring to restrain this *Demonaick*, by *Laws*, *Oaths* and *Tests*; and when all the Methods of Severity fail'd, we have tried the Charms of Kindness, Trust, Friendship and Reliance: We set up a Prince of their Communion, and opposed all those that would have Excluded him, with a Zeal which made us look a little too much in love with one who seem'd designed to be our Scourge by Heaven it self. When he had declared his Religion, and some of his Party, amongst whom *Nevel Paine* was one, had given us clear Indications of their Rage against us; yet we in Parliament, not only attainted, and thereby ruin'd the late Duke of *Monmouth* and his Party, but when some Gentlemen propos'd to have the Security of the Protestant Religion taken into Consideration, the House declared they would *intirely rely upon his Majesty's Promise for the Security of their Religion, which they valued more than their Lives.* And before this, when *Charles* the Second, the 30*th* of *April* 1679, to avoid the Exclusion-Bill, propos'd very advantageous Restrictions of the Authority of a *Roman Catholick* Prince, the *Church-of-England-men* rejected them, for fear they should too much weaken and expose the Regal Authority, not to mention the Favours shewn to all the whole *Roman Catholick* Party, during the fierce Prosecution of the Popish Plot in that Prince's Reign: Well, what could have been done more than was, to oblige Men or Christians to treat us like Friends, when they had an opportunity to express their Gratitude? No, stay you there Gentlemen, we Roman Catholicks have but one Friend in this World, and if you are not for him too, stand off; expect nothing from us but Ruin and Desolation. Will you *Repeal the Penal Laws and the Tests?* Why I cannot betray my Religion: Then make room for one that will. Turn out, *Ite Procul, Ite Profani.* And we all know what follow'd, and I suppose no body in this Genera-

tion will have ſo little wit as to pretend any more to oblige a Roman Catholick by any of theſe things.

Well, will Oaths bind them? No, they have a Pope, and a Maxim that will fruſtrate that Ligament, when ever it is for their convenience to be free. And of this we have ſeen and felt too much already. Will Laws? If you catch and hang the Prieſt, the Traitor, the Cut-throat, he is made a Martyr, his Crime's deny'd, palliated, excus'd, or it may be juſtified and defended as occaſion ſerves, and yet after all, they ſhall have the Satisfaction of clamouring againſt you for a perſecuting Church, and a bloody Nation.

Well, what is to be done? Why, for my part, I can ſee but one poſſible Method to quiet the Nation, and that is once for all to clear it of theſe Monſters, and force them to tranſplant themſelves, not out of the *Engliſh* Dominions, but out of this Iſland: As long as they continue amongſt us, they neither can nor will be quiet; Prieſts they muſt and will have, and that Ferment will ſuffer nothing near it to be at reſt. The remembrance of what is paſt will irritate the Minds of Men, and make them jealous of future Evils, ſo that no care of the wiſeſt and beſt Governours can long keep the Nation in Tranquillity and Peace, if theſe Men-catchers are ſuffered to neſtle amongſt us. But then I would have this extended only to *England* and *Scotland*, becauſe *Ireland* would be laid deſolate by ſuch an Expedient, and if the *Engliſh* Nation, which has not above 40000 Roman Catholicks, were once cleared, it would very eaſily ſuppreſs and revenge any Attempt could be made in that Kingdom.

Beſides this, all Feme Coverts, all Perſons above ſixty or fifty years of Age, all Day-labourers and Handy-crafts-men might be excepted; theſe can maintain no Prieſts, nor much imbroil the Peace of the Nation, or at leaſt for no long time; but then all the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants and rich Tradeſmen of that Religion, I think ought to be ſent packing, and for the future a Law be made to disfranchiſe them, and make them incapable of poſſeſſing, purchaſing, inheriting or tranſmitting any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, to the value of forty Shillings *per Annum*, or upwards.

To make this the more eaſy, yet it were fitting that every individual Perſon ſhould be asked whether he had rather leave his

Country, or his Religion? and all that would promiſe the latter upon Oath, to be excuſed, but ſo as to forfeit their Eſtates if they relapſed after the Oath ſo taken, or brought up their Children in that Religion.

Secondly, To allow all that would tranſplant themſelves the full value of their Eſtates, both Real and Perſonal, their Debts being firſt paid and deducted. This would enable them to live in as great or a greater Equipage and Grandeur in our Plantations, as they ever had here in *England*; and if they removed into *Germany* or *France*, *Italy* or *Spain*, their Eſtates would make their Lives eaſy, and their Baniſhment honourable. The World is wide, and if I were one of them I ſhould never ſtay for an Act of Parliament, but would certainly ſell what I had and be gone, that I might enjoy my Religion and my Eſtate in a warmer Climate.

But, alas, they love their Country too dearly to leave it: what is it in *England* they love? The Civil Liberties they had brought to the utmoſt limits of Deſtruction: The Religion of *England* they hate above all other; the Earth is not more Fruitful, and the Air is much colder than that of other Countries, and I am confident the Engliſh Humour is ſo far exaſperated againſt Popery, that half a hundred Years will not allay the Fever the laſt four Years have raiſed in the Engliſh Blood againſt Popery; ſo that they have nothing to attach them to *England*, but the ſullen hopes of being a Plague and a Terror to us.

But it will be ſaid, The tranſporting ſo much Wealth out of the Nation will too much impoveriſh us: This ought well to be conſidered, and a true Eſtimate made both of the Eſtates and Debts of the Roman Catholicks, and of the Methods of returning their Effects beyond the Seas, and then perhaps it would rather increaſe our Trade than abate our Wealth. And as for the weakning us by the taking off ſo many of our People, this I am ſure is a meer *Chimera*, two or three thouſand Perſons would be the utmoſt that we ſhould loſe: And thoſe who bought their Eſtates would be better Subjects and Neighbours than ever they will be as long as they continue *Roman Catholicks*.

It is not to be imagin'd, that all or any conſiderable Part of this Wealth will be tranſported in *Engliſh* Mony in *ſpecie*, but in Merchandiſe, Bills of Exchange, *&c.* So that I am confident we have more ſent away to the *Jeſuits* Colledg beyond the Seas in ſeven Years, than would be carried out in *ſpecie* on ſuch an occaſion; and hereby we ſhould at once rid our ſelves of one of the greateſt Plagues that any Nation ever ſtruggled ſo long with.

Nor would it be only Profitable but *Juſt*. They have given us the greateſt Provocation that ever was given by Men, to Men. Did ever 40000 Men in any other part of the World ever before endeavour to do what they themſelves had proved to be impoſſible? Did ever ſuch an handful of Men before, by Fraud and Violence, deſign to enſlave a Free, to impoveriſh a Rich, to ſubdue a Valiant and Generous Nation? What could they mean by the Force they in Print, and in common Diſcourſe intimated, that was, to compel us to give up our Laws, if fair Means would not do, but a Maſſacre, or a French Invaſion? Let them conſider how they have treated thoſe of our Religion in *France* and *Piedmont*; and then tell me, and all the World, if we have treated them in the ſame manner, when we have ſent them away with all they can juſtly call their own, only that we might not be forced to ruin them by a ſlower Proſecution.

The Facility is equal to the Juſtice of this Method; they are few in number, hated by all the reſt of the Nation; and beſides all their former Miſdemeanours, have, by the late Attempts upon the Religion and Liberties of *England*, ſo far encreaſed the Averſion of all degrees of Men amongſt us, that they will find very few to pity them, and not many to ſpeak for them.

The only Objections I can foreſee, are, firſt, That it will impoveriſh *England* to ſuffer them to carry away their Eſtates, and look too like Popiſh Cruelty, to turn them out deſpoiled of what they have, or of a great part of their Fortunes. Now this Objection muſt be conſidered in Parliament, becauſe no one Man can make any thing near a true Eſtimate what the value will be, their Debts being deducted, till a true Account is given of their Eſtates and Debts, and then I verily

rily believe it will be found much leſs than it ſeems at firſt.

The ſecond Objection is, That it will weaken us and ſtrengthen our Enemies, to loſe ſo many of our People. To this, I ſay, it is apparently otherwiſe; For if thoſe Eſtates were in the Hands of Proteſtants, they would much more contribute to the Union and Strength of *England*, than the Perſons of theſe Roman Catholicks do, of whom we can make little or no uſe in Civil or Military Affairs, at Home or Abroad, in Peace or War. And if they were added to any other Country, the Peace and Union they would leave us in, would infinitely overballance the loſs of their Perſons, and, as I believe, of their Eſtates too.

But now, on the contrary, if they be continued ſtill amongſt us, we muſt ſtill ſtruggle with all thoſe Inconveniences, which have neceſſitated our Anceſtors to make ſo many Laws againſt them, and the Severities which muſt be uſed to keep them under, will, by degrees, when the Memory of the late Tranſactions is worn off, beget compaſſion, and that will grow greater, as they grow fewer and leſs dangerous, and yet at laſt one ſingle *Jeſuit* may deſtroy the beſt of our Princes, and two or three Gentlemen of Eſtate, may diſquiet and enjealous a whole County; and when all is done, no hopes is left that any laſting Peace can be made with them; ſo that as long as there is any of that Religion in *England*, there is a Ferment in the Veins of the Nation, which will cauſe dreadful Paroxims.

Their Emiſſaries will alſo ſow Diſſentions between us and the Diſſenters, and exaſperate the Parties againſt each other; ſo that the good Correſpendence which is now between us and them, will, in ſhort time, be turn'd into Hatred on both ſides, if all the Care imaginable be not taken on both Sides of theſe Incendiaries, which will never be wanting whilſt we have a Popiſh Nobility and Gentry, how ſmall ſoever it is in Number.

The Seminaries at St. *Omers*, *Doway*, &c. are kept up by the Nobility and Gentry of that Communion, and tend very much to the imbroiling and weakning *England*, and the advancing the Intereſt of *France*; but would ſoon dwindle away if they had no Supplies from *England*, as they could have little

it:

if we had no Popiſh Nobility or Gentry, and the Lands of *England* were only in the Hands of Proteſtants.

The retiring of His late Majeſty into *France*, is another ſtrong Inducement: as long as He or the *Child* is living, they will have a pretence to Plot and cut Throats, and they will have ſome to pity, and others to applaud them; ſo that if there were no other Reaſon, this alone were ſufficient to determine the Queſtion, unleſs we are reſolved to ſhew our ſelves as careleſs of a Proteſtant Prince, as we have been over-fond of a Roman Catholick, which will be an ill Recompence for our Deliverance.

The

The Preſent CONVENTION, *A* PARLIAMENT.

I. THat the Formality of the King's Writ of Summons is not ſo eſſential to an *Engliſh* Parliament, but that the Peers of the Realm, and the Commons, by their Repreſentatives duly elected, may legally act as the great Council and repreſentative Body of the Nation, though not ſummon'd by the the King, eſpecially when the Circumſtances of the time are ſuch, that ſuch Summons cannot be had, will (I hope) appear by theſe following Obſervations.

Firſt, The *Saxon* Government was tranſplanted hither out of *Germany* where the meeting of the *Saxons* in ſuch Aſſemblies was at certain fixed times; *viz.* at the new and full Moon. But after their Tranſmigration hither, Religion changing, other things changed with it; and the times for their publick Aſſemblies, in Conformity to the great Solemnities celebrated by Chriſtians, came to be changed to the Feaſts of *Eaſter*, *Pentecoſt*, and the *Nativity*. The lower we come down in Story, the ſeldomer we find theſe general Aſſemblies to have been held; and ſometimes (even very anciently) when upon extraordinary Occaſions, they met out of Courſe, a *Precept*, an *Edict*, or *Sanction* is mentioned to have iſſued from the King; But the times, and the very place of their ordinary Meeting having been certain, and determined in the very firſt and eldeſt times that we meet with any mention of ſuch Aſſemblies, which times are as ancient as any Memory of the Nation it ſelf; hence I infer, that no Summons from the King can be thought to have been neceſſary in thoſe Days, becauſe it was altogether needleſs.

Secondly, The Succeſſion to the Crown did not in thoſe Days, nor till of late Years, run in a courſe of lineal Succeſſion by right of

of Inheritance: But upon the Death of a Prince, thoſe Perſons of the Realm that compoſed the then Parliament, aſſembled in order to the chooſing of another. That the Kingdom was then Elective, though one or other of the Royal Blood was always choſen, but the next in lineal Succeſſion very ſeldom, is evident from the Genealogies of the *Saxon* Kings, from an old Law made at *Calchuyth*, appointing how, and by whom Kings ſhall be choſen; and from many expreſs and particular Accounts given by our old Hiſtorians, of ſuch Aſſemblies held for electing of Kings. Now ſuch Aſſemblies could not be ſummon'd by any King; and yet in Conjunction with the King that themſelves ſet up, they made Laws, binding the King and all the Realm.

Thirdly, After the Death of King *William Rufus*, *Robert*, his elder Brother, being then in the *Holy Land*, *Henry*, the youngeſt Son of King *William* the firſt, procur'd an Aſſembly of the Clergy and People of *England*, to whom he made large Promiſes of his good Government, in caſe they would accept of him for their King; and they agreeing, that if he would reſtore to them the Laws of King *Edward the Confeſſor*, then they would conſent to make him their King: He ſwore that he would do ſo, and alſo free them from ſome Oppreſſions, which the Nation had groan'd under in his Brothers and his Fathers time. Hereupon they choſe him King, and the Biſhop of *London*, and the Archbiſhop of *York* ſet the Crown upon his Head; which being done, a Confirmation of the *Engliſh* Liberties paſs'd the Royal Aſſent in that Aſſembly, the ſame in Subſtance, though not ſo large as King *John*'s, and King *Henry* the thirds *Magna Charta*'s afterwards were.

Fourthly, After that King's Death, in ſuch another Parliament, King *Stephen* was elected, and *Maud* the Expreſs put by, though not without ſome Stain of Perfidiouſneſs upon all thoſe, and *Stephen* himſelf eſpecially, who had ſworn in her Father's Life-time, to acknowledg her for their Sovereign after his Deceaſe.

Fifthly, In King *Richard* the firſts time, the King being abſent in the *Holy Land*, and the Biſhop of *Ely* then his Chancellor, being Regent of the Kingdom in his Abſence, whoſe Government was intolerable to the People for his Inſolence and manifold Oppreſſions, a Parliament was convened at *London*, at the Inſtance of Earl *John*, the King's Brother, to treat of the great and weighty Affairs of the King and Kingdom; in which Parliament this ſame Regent was de-

poſ'd

pos'd from his Government, and another ſet up, *viz.* the Arch-Biſhop of *Roan* in his ſtead. This Aſſembly was not conven'd by the King, who was then in *Paleſtine*, nor by any Authority deriv'd from him, for then the Regent and Chancellor muſt have call'd them together; but they met, as the Hiſtorian ſays expreſly, at the Inſtance of Earl *John*. And yet, in the Kings Abſence, they took upon them to ſettle the publick Affairs of the Nation without him.

Sixthly, When King *Henry* the 3*d.* died, his eldeſt Son, Prince *Edward*, was then in the *Holy Land*, and came not home till within the third Year of his Reign; yet, immediately upon the Father's Death, all the Prelates and Nobles, and four Knights for every Shire, and four Burgeſſes for every Borough, aſſembled together in a great Council, and ſetled the Government till the King ſhould return; made a new Seal, and a Chancellor, *&c.*

I infer from what has been ſaid, that Writs of Summons are not ſo eſſential to the being of Parliaments, but that the People of *England*, eſpecially at a time when they cannot be had, may by Law, and according to our old Conſtitution, aſſemble together in a Parliamentary way without them, to treat of and ſettle the publick Affairs of the Nation. And that if ſuch Aſſemblies ſo conven'd, find the Throne vacant, they may proceed not only to ſet up a Prince, but with the Aſſent and Concurrence of ſuch Prince, to tranſact all publick Buſineſs whatſoever, without a new Election; they having as great Authority as the People of *England* can delegate to their Repreſentative.

II. The Acts of Parliaments not formal nor legal in all their Circumſtances, are yet binding to the Nation ſo long as they continue in force, and not liable to be queſtioned as to the Validity of them, but in ſubſequent Parliaments.

Firſt, The two *Spencers*, *Temp. Edvardi Secundi*, were baniſhed by Act of Parliament, and that Act of Parliament repealed by *Dures & Force*; yet was the Act of Repeal a good Law, till it was annull'd 1 *Ed.* 3.

Secondly, Some Statutes of 11 *Rich.* 2. and Attainders thereupon were repealed in a Parliament held *Anno* 21. of that King, which Parliament was procur'd by forc'd Elections; and yet the Repeal ſtood good, till ſuch time as in 1 *Henry* 4. the Statutes of 11 *Rich.* 2. were revived and appointed to be firmly held and kept.

Thirdly, The Parliament of 1 *Hen.* 4. conſiſted of the ſame Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes that had ſerved in the then laſt diſſolved Parliament, and thoſe Perſons were by the King's Writs to the Sheriffs commanded to be returned; and yet they paſſed Acts, and their Acts tho never confirmed, continue to be Laws at this Day.

Fourthly, Queen *Mary*'s Parliament that reſtored the Pope's Supremacy, was notoriouſly known to be pack'd, inſomuch that it was debated in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, whether or no to declare all their Acts void by Act of Parliament. That courſe was then upon ſome prudential Conſiderations declined; and therefore the Acts of that Parliament, not ſince repealed, continue binding Laws to this Day.

The Reaſon of all this, is, Becauſe no inferior Courts have Authority to judg of the Validity or Invalidity of the Acts of ſuch Aſſemblies, as have but ſo much as a Colour of Parliamentary Authority.

The Acts of ſuch Aſſemblies being entred upon the Parliament-Roll, and certified before the Judges of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, as Acts of Parliament, are concluſive and binding to them; becauſe Parliaments are the only Judges of the Imperfections, Invalidities, Illegalities, *&c.* of one another.

The Parliament that call'd in King *Charles* the ſecond, was not aſſembled by the King's Writ, and yet they made Acts, and the Royal Aſſent was had to them; many of which indeed were afterwards confirmed, but not all, and thoſe that had no Confirmation, are undoubted Acts of Parliament without it, and have ever ſince obtained as ſuch.

Hence I infer that the preſent Convention, may, if they pleaſe, aſſume to themſelves a Parliamentary Power, and in Conjunction with ſuch King or Queen as they ſhall declare, may give Laws to the Kingdom as a legal Parliament.

A LETTER *to a Member of the* CONVENTION.

SIR,

I Hear you are elected a Member of this next Convention, and therefore expect to see you very suddenly in Town; but I can tell you my mind more freely in Writing, and you may think better of it when you see it before you; and therefore I have rather chose to give you the trouble of this Paper, than to leave all to a personal Conference at our next Meeting.

I will not dispute with you about what is past, or what is to come; it is too late to do the first, and as for the second, whatever becomes of other Arguments, Interest is most apt to prevail, and therefore all that I beg of you, is to take care that you do not mistake your own and the Nations Interest in a matter of such high Concernment.

There is no less Affair before you than the Fate of Princes, and of three Kingdoms, which requires the most calm, mature, and deliberate Advice; and yet when you come to *London*, you will find such Distractions and Divisions in Mens Counsels, that all the threatning Dangers of *Popery* were not a more formidable prospect to Considering Men, all old Animolities are revived, and new ones fomented every day; some are visibly acted by Ambition, others by Revenge; the *Dissenter* is very busie to undermine the Church, and the *Commonwealths Man* to subvert Monarchy, and *the Lord have Mercy upon us all.* I doubt not but you will readily confess, that it is the common Interest to have things settled upon such a bottom, as is most like to last, and then, I am sure, you must consult both Law and Conscience in the matter, and keep to your old Establishment as near as you can; for when there are so many Distempers in Mens Minds, and such contrary Interests, it is no time to innovate, it is no time to lay new Foundations, when there are frequent Earthquakes,

which will not give them time to ſettle: The Revolutions of State have been ſo quick and ſudden of late, that all prudent Men will be cautious how they try Experiments, which are commonly dangerous and uncertain, but eſpecially in matters of Government, which depend on the good liking of free and moral Agents, and when ſo many Hundred Thouſands are to be ſatisfied, you can never gueſs at the prevailing Opinion, by the major Vote of a Convention.

Let us then conſider, what is moſt likely to give the moſt general ſatisfaction to the Nation, for that, I am ſure, is moſt likely to be laſting, and becauſe you may be a Stranger to theſe Matters yet, I will give you an Account of the different Projects now on foot, as well as I can learn them.

Some are for ſending to the King, and Treating with him to return to his Government, under ſuch Legal Reſtraints, as ſhall give ſecurity to the moſt jealous Perſons, for the preſervation of their Liberties, Laws, and Religion; and if he will not conſent to this, to make the next Heir Regent. Others are for declaring the Crown forfeited or demiſed, and proclaiming the *Princeſs* of *Orange*. Others will have the Government diſſolved, and begin all *de novo*, and make the *Prince* of *Orange* King, or Crown him and the *Princeſs* together, and *poſtpone* the Title of the *Princeſs Ann*, till after the *Prince*'s Death, if he ſurvive the *Princeſs*. I ſhall not pretend to tell you, which of theſe I ſhould prefer, were it *Res integra*; for the Queſtion is not, which you and I ſhould like beſt, but which will be the firmeſt Foundation for the Peace and Settlement of theſe Kingdoms.

1. As for the firſt, though it be horribly decried, and ſuch Men fooliſhly expoſed as Friends to *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; yet I could never meet with any Man yet, who had the face to reject all Treaty with the King upon any other pretence, but that it was in vain, that it is impoſſible he ſhould give any Security to the Nation that he would Govern by Law; which is ſo ridiculous a pretence, that it will ſatisfy no Body, but thoſe who are reſolved, that he ſhall never return. For, as little as I am verſed in this matter, I could frame ſuch Laws, as ſhould put it utterly out of the King's Power to invade our Liberties or Religion: However, I am ſure we ſhould have thought our ſelves very ſecure, would the King have called a *Free Parliament*, and given them liberty to have made what Laws they pleaſed, and that which would have given ſuch general ſatisfaction before, had it been granted, I ſuſpect, ſhould it be now granted,

and

and refuſed, that would give as general diſſatisfaction; nay, the very refuſal to Treat, will be thought ſuch a ſcandalous neglect of our Duty to a Sovereign Prince, and give ſuch Jealouſies to People, that thoſe who oppoſe it, are only afraid that the King ſhould comply, as will be the foundation of univerſal Diſcontents, which will ſhew themſelves upon the firſt occaſion. It is certain, would the *Convention* Treat with the King, either they would agree, or they would not agree; if they could not agree upon the propoſal of reaſonable Securities, this would ſatisfie Multitudes of People that they had tried; if they did agree, this would give univerſal ſatisfaction, and there were an happy end of all our Troubles.

But now let us ſuppoſe, that part of the *Convention* ſhould prevail which is againſt Treating with the King, and for depoſing or ſetting him aſide without more ado; let us conſider what is like to be the moſt probable Conſequence of this.

It is certain, this fundamental Change in the Government cannot be made by any Legal Authority; for the *Convention* will not pretend to any ſuch Legal Power, and there can be no Parliament without a King; and a King whoſe whole Authority depends upon a *Convention* that has no ſuch Authority, is but in a weak ſtate as to Civil Right: No Man will think himſelf bound in Conſcience to obey him, and when every Mans Conſcience is free, let ſuch a Prince beware of Epidemical Diſcontents. And let you and I calmly conſider, what Diſcontents may probably ariſe upon ſuch a Juncture.

1. Firſt then, All thoſe who think themſelves bound by their Oath of Allegiance to defend the King's Perſon, Crown and Dignity, who wonder at Men of Law, who talk of a Forfeiture or Demiſe of the Crown while the King lives, and flies out of his Kingdoms only for the ſafety of his Perſon, and becauſe he will not truſt himſelf in the power of his Enemies; I ſay, all ſuch Perſons will be greatly diſcontented at Depoſing the King, and will never own any other King, while their own King, to whom they have ſworn Allegiance, lives; and tho you ſhould ſuppoſe ſuch Conſcientious Men to be very few, yet if theſe few ſhould happen to be Perſons of Character, of known Prudence and Abilities, Integrity and Honeſty, in Church or State, their Examples would give a terrible Shock to ſuch a new tottering Government, tho they were never ſo Tame and Peaceable, void of Faction and Sedition themſelves.

And

And yet let me tell you, you muſt not judge of the Numbers of theſe Men by the late general defection. The whole Nation, I confeſs, was very unanimous for the *Prince*, great numbers of Gentlemen, nay, of the King's own Soldiers went over to him, very few but Papiſts offered their Service to the King; but the reaſon of this was very evident, not that they were willing to part with the King, and ſet up another in his room, but becauſe they were horribly afraid of Popery, and very deſirous to ſee the Laws and Religion of the Nation ſettled upon the old Foundations by a *Free Parliament*, which was all the Prince declared for; but many who were Well-wiſhers to this Deſign, will not renounce their Allegiance to their King; and now they ſee what is like to come of it, are aſhamed of what they have done, and ask God's pardon for it, and are ready to undo it as far as they can.

2. Beſides a thouſand occaſions of Diſcontent which may happen in ſuch a Change of Government as this, which no Body can poſſibly foreſee, and yet may have very fatal Conſequences, there are ſome very viſible occaſions for it beſides the ſenſe of Loyalty and Conſcience.

How many Diſcontents, think you, may ariſe between the Nobility and Gentry, who attend the new Court? Every Man will think he has ſome Merit, and expect ſome marks of Favour to have his ſhare of Honour, and Power, and Profit, and yet a great many more muſt miſs, than thoſe who ſpeed, and many of thoſe who are Rewarded, may think they han't their Deſerts, and be diſcontented to ſee others preferred before them; and thoſe whoſe expectations are diſappointed, are diſobliged too, and that is a dangerous thing when there is another, and a righful King to oblige; for Duty and Diſcontent together, to be revenged if a new King, and to be reconciled to an old One, will ſhake a Throne which has ſo ſandy a Foundation. The like may be ſaid of the Soldiery, who are generally Men of Honour and Reſentment, and have the greater and ſharper Reſentments now, becauſe they are ſenſible of their miſtake when it is too late; yet as they ought not to have Fought for Popery, nor againſt the Laws and Liberties of their Country, ſo neither ought they to have deſerted the defence of the King's Perſon and Crown, but have brought the Prince to Terms, as well as the King.

Thus you eaſily foreſee what a heavy Tax muſt be laid upon the Nation, to defray the Charge of this Expedition, and I believe the

the Country would have paid it very chearfully and thankfully, had the Prince reſtored to them their Laws, and Liberties, and Religion, together with their King; but you know Men are apt to complain of every thing, when Money is to be paid, and it may be it will be thought hard to loſe their King, and to pay ſo dear for it too: And tho what the *Convention* does is none of the Prince's fault, no more than it was his deſign, yet angry People don't uſe to diſtinguiſh ſo nicely.

But there is a greater Difficulty ſtill than all this: There are no Contentions ſo fierce as thoſe about Religion; this gave Life and Spirit to the Prince's Deſign, and had the main ſtroke in this late Revolution: And though Popery were a hated Religion, yet moſt Men are as zealous for their own Religion, as they are againſt Popery. Thoſe of the Church of *England* are very glad to get rid of Popery, but they will not be contented to part with their Church into the Bargain, for this would be as bad as they could have ſuffered under Popery. The ſeveral Sects of Diſſenters are glad to get rid of Popery alſo; but now they expect glorious Days for themſelves, and what they expect God Almighty knows, for I am confident they don't know themſelves. Now conſider how difficult it will be, for any Prince, who has but a crazy Title to the immediate poſſeſſion of the Crown, to adjuſt this matter ſo, as neither to diſguſt the Church of *England*, nor the Diſſenters, and if either of them be diſobliged, there is a formidable Party made againſt them.

This being the Caſe, ſhould the King be depoſed, and any other aſcend the Throne, it will be neceſſary for them to keep up a ſtanding Army to quell ſuch Diſcontents; for where there are and will be Diſcontents without any tye of Conſcience to reſtrain Men, there can be no defence but only in Power; and this will raiſe and encreaſe new Diſcontents; for it alters the frame of our Conſtitution, from a Civil to a Military Government, which is one of the great Grievances we have complained of, and I believe *Engliſh* People will not be better pleaſed with *Dutch*, or *German*, or any foreign Souldiers, than they were with their own Country-Men; and I believe *Engliſh* Souldiers will not be extreamly pleaſed to ſee themſelves disbanded, or ſent into other Countries to hazard their Lives, while their Places are taken up by Foreigners, who live in eaſe, plenty, and ſafety: And

when

when things are come to this pass, which is so likely, that I cannot see how all the Wit of Man can prevent it; I will suppose but one thing more, which you will say is not unlikely, that the King return with a foreign Force to recover his Kingdoms, how ready will the Men of Conscience, and the Men of Discontent be to join him, nay to invite him Home again; and if he returns as a Conquerour, you will wish, when it is too late, that you had treated with him, and brought him back upon safe and honourable Terms.

Secondly, Let us suppose now, that all this should be over-voted (for I am sure it can never be answered) and the Convention should resolve to proclaim the next Heir.

1. You must be sure to examine well who is the next Heir, that is, you must throughly examine the Pretences of the Prince of *Wales*; and yet if you have not good Proofs of the Imposture, you had better let it alone. For tho the Nation has had general presumptions of it, yet a Male Heir of the Crown is mightily desired, and People would be very fond of him, if they had one, and seem to expect some better Proofs than meer Presumptions against him, because common Fame has promised a great deal more, and if you should either say nothing to it, or not what is expected, it would be a very plausible pretence for discontented People to quarrel.

2. Suppose the Princess of *Orange* should appear to be the next Heir, what if a Lady of her eminent Vertue should scruple to sit upon her Father's Throne, while he lives? Or what if she should scruple it hereafter, and place her Father in his Throne again? This is not impossible; for Vertue is greater than a Throne. For my part, I think you will put a very hard thing upon so excellent a Lady, and I pray God give her Grace to resist the Temptation. A Regency is more tolerable, because a Nation must be governed, and none so proper to govern it as the next Heir; but I should think, none who expect to wear a Crown, should countenance Subjects in deposing their King, nor accept of a Crown upon such Terms, as to take it off of a Father's Head: It is a dangerous thing for a Prince who has a Title to the Crown, to own that the Crown may be forfeited or demised by such a withdrawing; if this be not so, the Princess has no Right to the possession of the Crown yet; and if it be so, her Crown is worth a great deal less than formerly it was, especially if she own this

this Secret by accepting the Crown, which her Anceſtors always concealed, and which the beſt Subjects of *England* would not believe before; what they may do after this, I know not.

Thirdly, The next Deſign (I verily believe without the knowledg or thought of the Prince, who has too great a Mind to think of any thing, which in the opinion of any wiſe Man could ſtain and ſully his Glory) is to give the Crown to the Prince of *Orange*, for it muſt be a Gift, if any thing; for he has no immediate Title to it, that I know of: This is upon a pretence, that the Government is diſſolved, and therefore we muſt begin *de novo*, which is very ridiculous, when the King is ſtill alive, and the Laws in as full force as ever, only the Regular Adminiſtration of Government at preſent interrupted by the King's abſence; but this is not the worſt of it, for it is a dangerous pretence too, eſpecially to Men of Quality and Eſtates, as you are; for if the Government be diſſolved, our Laws are diſſolved, and Honour and Property diſſolved with them, and then I doubt the Mobile will come in for their ſhare in the new Diviſion of the Lands, and ſet up for Men of as good Quality as any; for if our Laws are gone, we return to a ſtate of Nature, in which all Men are equal, and all things common; this I believe you will not be for, for the Reaſon above-mentioned.

If then the Laws continue, the Government is not diſſolved, and the Crown is not a Gift, but an Inheritance ſtill, as much as your Eſtate is; and then the Prince of *Orange* cannot have it in his own Right, becauſe his own Princeſs, and the Princeſs *Anne* are before him; conſider then what the conſequence of this Project would be.

1. This alters the eſſential Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, by changing an Hereditary into an Elective Monarchy, a thing which I know ſome Men are very fond of; for then the next occaſion they can find to quarrel with their Prince, they may with as much eaſe turn it into a Common-Wealth; for when the Crown is at the Peoples diſpoſal, they may if they pleaſe keep it to themſelves.

2. This will entangle all Men of Conſcience in new Difficulties; for the Oath of Allegiance does not only bind us to the King, but to his Heirs and Succeſſors, which muſt be underſtood of the next lineal Heir, where there is no Authority to alter it; and whatever a Parliament may be thought to have with the Authority and Conſent

ſent of the King, no Man pretends, that a Convention of the Eſtates has any Legal Authority to do it. I ſhould be as heartily glad as any Man, to ſee the Prince of *Orange* legally ſeated on the *Engliſh* Throne; but theſe are Difficulties I cannot break through. Thus I have given you my haſty Thoughts, and pray God to direct you.

I am Yours.

POSTSCRIPT.

THere is one thing more, I would beg of you, that the Story of *French League to cut Proteſtants Throats in England* may be well examined; for this did more to drive the King out of the Nation, than the Prince's Army; and if this ſhould prove a Sham, as ſome, who pretend to know, ſay it is, it ſeems at leaſt to be half an Argument to invite the King back again. In ſhort, remember you are a Convention, not a Parliament, and therefore nothing can give Authority to what you do, but the good liking of the People; and as Neceſſity only can juſtify your meeting without the King's Writs, ſo I hope you will take care to do nothing but what will juſtify it ſelf to God, the King, and your Country.

An ANSWER *to the Author of the* LETTER *to a Member of the* CONVENTION.

Reverend Sir,

YOur Name, your Quality, your Religion, and your Deſign in Publiſhing this Letter are wholly unknown to me, but the confident Aſſertion, *pag. 3. §. 16. That you are ſure it can never be Anſwered*; ſounds ſo like a Son, or rather a Father of the *Infallible Church*, that it has provoked me, if not to anſwer, yet at leaſt to reflect upon ſome Paſſages in this Magiſterial Compoſure.

§. 2. *Whatever becomes of other Arguments, Intereſt is moſt likely to prevail.* You, Sir, ſuppoſe your Parliament-Man, in theſe words, to be one who will regard no Arguments from Juſtice, Reaſon, Religion, or the Laws of God or Man; *Intereſt* is the only thing which is *likely to prevail*; an excellent Complement to a Parliament-Man; but it goes higher yet, and takes in the Majority of the States, for no one Man ſhall ever determine theſe great things.

§. 3. You tell him, That *All the threatning Dangers of Popery were not a more formidable Proſpect to conſidering Men, than the preſent Diſtractions and Diviſions.* Now ſurely this is a very bold and daring ſtroke; but that I am certain theſe penſive thoughtful Men are not either very numerous, or very conſiderable; otherwiſe, the few of the Church of *England* that are over-thoughtful in this Point, deſerve much Compaſſion, becauſe they diſquiet themſelves and others out of pure tenderneſs of *Conſcience*, and an *over-great Loyalty*; but then there is no danger to be apprehended from them; and they will in time ſatisfy their own Scruples, and in the interim, I doubt not, infinitely more Men dread the *Dangers of Popery*, even to this Day, than all the

Common-wealth-Men, Diſſenters, ambitious and revengeful Wretches, which you have ſo artfully muſtered up to fright the *Country Eſquire* with, can over-ballance. Strange it is in the mean time, that the *Dangers of Popery*, which laſt *October* appeared ſo formidable, ſhould in ſo ſhort a time vaniſh, or rather dwindle into nothing: But God, by the Miniſtry of the *Prince of Orange* and his Friends, has brought this about. In the reſt of that Section I agree with you, and approve of it.

The two next Sections being only a repreſentation of the different Parties of Men now upon the Stage, I leave as I find them.

§. 6. *Though the Opinion of thoſe who are for ſending to the King, and treating with him to return to his Government, under ſuch legal Reſtraints, as ſhall give ſecurity to the moſt jealous Perſons for the preſervation of their Laws, Liberties, and Religion, is horribly decryed*, &c. *yet the only Reaſon againſt it is, becauſe it is vain.* Now, Sir, that Reaſon is ſo very good, that it may perhaps juſtify that dreadful Conſequence you ſo ſhrink at; for though I do not doubt but you are a wonderful *Legiſlator*, yet if Twenty wiſer Men than you were joined with you to *frame theſe new Laws*, yet let but a *Popiſh Prince* have the Supreme *Executive Power* and the *Legal Prerogatives*, and he will break through all your Reſtrictions with wonderful Facility, as we have ſeen by Experience. But then if you leave him the Name, and take away the Power of a King, you ſet up a *Common-wealth* immediately, which will not end with your *Popiſh Prince*, but there will be ſtickling to keep all things in the ſame State in the following Reign, of what Religion ſoever the *Prince* is, which was the Reaſon why the Limitations offered by *Charles* II. in 1679, were rejected.

[And let it be remember'd alſo how well that *Prince*, that was ſuppoſed to be a *Proteſtant*, kept his Word, and the Solemn League and Covenant, which he ſolemnly with Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, ſwore to obſerve in *Scotland*, &c.]

Well, but we *would have thought our ſelves very ſecure if the King would have called a Free Parliament*; Yes, Sir, if he would have call'd it *Freely*, ſo that it had been the production of his Will without Force; but Sir, it is notorious, he was reſolved the *Parliament* ſhould either not be *free*, or not *meet*; and if your Memory will not ſerve you to recall the virulent *Reflection on the humble Petition preſented by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal the* 17th *of* November *laſt*, in which the Author tells us, *That the ſummoning a*

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Parliament now, is ſo far from being the only way (to preſerve His Majeſty and the Kingdom) that it will be one of the principal cauſes of much Miſery to the Kingdom, &c. and nothing would do then, but driving the *Prince of Orange* out of the Kingdom with Force and Arms. Now I ſay, Sir, if you cannot remember this, you ſhall never be truſted to *frame Laws*, if I can help it.

There is another and a better Reaſon to refuſe a Treaty, than the *fearing the King ſhould comply*. Suppoſe that he ſhould grant all that you can ask, bating *White-Hall, the Revenue, the Title of King, and the Right of calling Parliaments, and making Peace and War*: What Security have we that he will acquieſce in this low reſtrained Eſtate? Oaths, Laws, and Promiſes we had before, but what did they ſignify? Who ſhall be Guarantee? what ſhall we do if he break out again? In ſhort *quis cuſtodiet Cuſtodes?* So that the many who deſire a Treaty, are deſired to read the *Enquiry into the preſent State of Affairs*, that they may not come into the Diſcipline of the ſevere Lady, who has taught the Proteſtants in *France* and *Piedmont* a Leſſon which *England* too muſt have gone through with, if God and *H. W. P. O.* had not ſaved us.

But if the *Convention* ſhould refuſe to treat, and *Depoſe the King, it would act without a Legal Power*, §. 8. Why Sir, here is no occaſion to talk of a *Depoſition*, the King is gone of his own accord freely; and they are only to conſider whether we ſhall periſh in a State of *Anarchy*, recal him, and ſuffer over again all that is paſt, and all that was intended, but prevented; or whether they ſhall recognize the next immediate Heir, and enquire who that is? Well, but the next Heir, it ſeems, ſhall have ſmall joy of it, *his whole Authority depending on a Convention that has no Authority*: In good time! Will the Authority of this Prince, when acknowledged, depend on the Authority of the *Convention?* Did Queen *Elizabeth* or King *James* I. owe all their Authority to the Parliaments which recognized their reſpective Rights? *But no Man will think himſelf bound in Conſcience to obey this Heir.* Have you, Sir, the keeping of all Mens Conſciences, or the knowledg of their Thoughts? I can aſſure you mine is not in your cuſtody.

§. 9. *All thoſe who think themſelves bound* [ſtill] *by their Oath of Allegiance to defend the King's Perſon, his Crown, and Dignity*, &c. *will be greatly diſcontented.* Why Sir, then they may

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go over into *France*, and be admitted into his Guards, and perhaps the generous Allowance given him by the *French* King, will maintain them, if their *Hereſie* do not over-ballance their Loyalty, and turn it into a Crime, as it happened to the *Hugonots*. Well, *but they will never own any other whilſt their own King lives:* Aſſuredly this is a wonderful Man, if he could but as certainly inform us of the number, as he can of the Thoughts and future Actions of theſe *Loyaliſts*.

Well, but if they ſhould happen to be *Perſons of known Prudence, Abilities, Integrity, Honeſty, though they were never ſo few and never ſo tame, it would give a terrible ſtroke to this Tottering Government*. Why, Sir, all or the greateſt part of ſuch Men in the Nation, were a dreadful Body, tho they were and ever will be *few*; but Sir, there muſt be a conſiderable Body of ſuch Men firſt ſatisfied in the Convention, a number without Doors are already ſatisfied, and more will when the *States* have paſſed their *Reſolves*; and the remainder of the Men of this *High Character*, who will ſtill remain Diſcontented, if they are any thing *Peaceable*, though not over *Tame*, will never be able to ſhock the moſt *Tottering Government* in the World *by their Examples*, how well ſoever he thinks of them.

Yet, §. 10. He endeavours to ſhew the number will not be ſmall, becauſe many who joyned with the Prince, *are aſhamed of what they have done, and ask God pardon for it, and are ready to undo it as far as they can*. Well, Sir, how many ſuch do you know beſides your ſelf? A Liſt of theſe Men were worth the having, and may perhaps be eaſily taken, if one knew how to ſeparate them from the reſt; however, I ſhould not fear greatly the *terrible Shock* of theſe wonderful Men, till I had better information of their Numbers than you can poſſibly give us. *They were not willing to part with the King, tho they were horribly afraid of Popery*. Why, Sir, has the King changed his Religion in *France*? or are theſe Gentlemen ſo fond of the King, that they would now be contented to ſuffer all that *Popery threatned* ſo lately? Or are they become as weary of their Delivery as they were before of Popery? Or, will they ſacrifice their *Laws, Religion, old Foundations*, and *Free Parliaments* to their Allegiance to their King? If you ſay, Yes, I have done; if no, then you would have what was not to be had, and will not be contented with what may be had; and if the Num-

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ber of theſe Men is great, farewel to the Liberties, Laws, Religion, and Priviledges of *England*, and its Wealth and Inhabitants too, and what is left you may be pleaſed to divide amongſt your Men of *Character*.

To all this he aſſures us, §. 10. *There will be a Thouſand Occaſions of Diſcontent*: Juſt a *Thouſand*, neither one more or leſs, *beſides* thoſe ſpringing from the *ſenſe of Loyalty and Conſcience*: Strange, that theſe Two ſhould be ſo troubleſome, as to equal, if not exceed the whole *Thouſand* that went before.

He that had been before ſo liberal of his Informatien, now ſets us to gueſs in §. 10. *How many will be diſcontented in the new Court for want of Preferment?* Why, Sir, If you pleaſe to inform me how many days in *February* ſhall be clear, and how many ſhall be cloudy, I will fall a gueſſing how many in the new Court ſhall be pleaſed, and how many ſhall be diſſatisfied; but when I have done, it will not be worth the while, becauſe this ever happens, and Courtiers have an old way of keeping theſe Malecontents in hope, till they fall off or gain what they deſire; and ſo if there ſhould happen to be a Thouſand of them, they will not be able to ſhock the Government, if there is no other cauſe of Diſcontent than that.

Well, but here *Duty and Diſcontent will mix, becauſe they are ſenſible of their Miſtake when it is too late: For as they ought not to have fought for Popery, nor againſt the Laws and Liberties of their Country; ſo neither ought they to have deſerted the defence of the King's Perſon and Crown, but have brought the Prince to Terms as well as the King:* Why, Sir, *Nemo tenetur ad impoſſibilia.* The King was never brought to Terms, nor perhaps never will: So that if they had Fought at all, it muſt have been for *Popery*, and againſt both our *Laws* and *Liberties*. Sir, ſhew when and where the King offered us or the Prince any *Terms*, and I will paſs my word you ſhall be employed to *frame Laws* for the *Convention*, which is certainly a good Employ for one that is ſo expert at it as you pretend to be.

Well, §. 13. *A heavy Tax muſt be laid upon the Nation, to defray the Charge of this Expedition:* Why, Sir, Are you of the Privy Council to the Prince? Surely he will be able to find ſome other Cauſe, or not make the Tax ſo very *heavy*. *But Men will be very ſorry to loſe their King, and pay ſo dear for it too.* Yes doubtleſs, a Gracious King is a great Loſs; but if he will be gone, and

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involve us in a War too, *Taxes must be paid*, yea, *heavy Taxes* to support the Charge of it, or *Louis* will in a short time teach us what the Prince's Expedition was worth, whatever it cost.

But this is not all, we must *part with our Church too*, the *crazy Title will require the giving the Church to the Dissenters*, §. 14. The *Dissenters* have of late acted very well, and perhaps if a wise Man has the managing of them; and the *Popish Emissaries* be carefully looked after, we may compound the Quarrel better cheap than the *parting with our Church*. Sir, I am well assured a great deal less will for the present content them, and the King is not Immortal, and whenever he Dies, the *Crazy Title* will be Sodered again, if no Body be to blame for giving it another *terrible Shock*.

§. 15. *Should the King be Deposed, or any other ascend the Throne, it will be necessary to keep a standing Army to quell such Discontents.* You may be a good *Law-framer* for ought I know, but I will swear you are no *States-Man*; this whole Section is meer Whimsey borrowed from the *Dutch Design Anatomized*, who had the folly to talk of Governing *England* by an Army of *Dutch* and *Germans*; but why, God knows, except it were because a few were brought over to deliver us, and cannot presently be returned back to *Holland*. The Prince is both a wise and a good Prince, and knows the Consequence of keeping those Forces long here, better than a Thousand such *Law-framers*.

Suppose the King should return with a Foreign Force to recover his Kingdom, how ready will the Men of Conscience *be, and the Men of* Discontent *to joyn with them, nay, to invite him Home again.* This looks so like a *Roman Catholick Zeal*, that if I were not assured he is a *Church of England-Man*, I could not believe but it was a Disciple of St. *Omers*: But will the Conscientious Men invite the King home again, with all his Apostolick Vicars, Jesuits, Ecclesiastical Judges, Dispensing Power, and a round Army of *French Dragoons* to teach us the *French* Faith after the *French* Fashion? Are these the Men of *Character*, *Prudence*, *Ability*, *Integrity*, or of Conscience either? Would one of the Primitive Christians have talked thus, have stood for a *Licinius* against a *Constantine*? Well, if the King *comes in a Conqueror, we shall wish we had Treated.* Truly I shall not; I had rather be forced than deceived, for then I know what I have to trust to; and I would not willingly be accessary to my own Ruine.

Well,

Well, ſuppoſe this unanſwerable ſtuff is over-voted, §. 17. *We are to bring good proof the Prince of* Wales *is an Impoſture, or elſe we had better let it alone.* Very good; the *Negative* is to be proved; we may gueſs by this what kind of Laws you, Sir, would frame. Well, but if this be not done, the *Diſcontented Men will have a plauſible pretence to quarrel:* What the Conſcientious Men will do we muſt gueſs, but in all probability they will not be better qualited.

What if the Princeſs of *Orange* be a Lady of that *eminent Virtue* that ſhe ſhould ſcruple to ſit upon *her Father's Throne* whilſt he lives? Well, his Majeſty has deſerted his Throne and Kingdom when he needed not, except he had pleaſed; and ſome Body muſt ſit upon his Throne, though he is yet Alive: Now if it be her Right after his Death, why not now? Our Author is at his Prayers, that *God would give her Grace to reſiſt the Temptation*; and I at mine, That the Author may never be one of her Chaplains till he is better inform'd. The reſt of that Section is not unanſwerable, but not worth anſwering.

He has all along ſuppoſed the Prince of *Orange* Crown'd, yet in the 19th Section he proves he can have no Right to it, neither by *Deſcent* nor *Gift*; and truly I am of the ſame mind for many Reaſons, and eſpecially for the ſake of the Three alledged by him, *Sect.* 20, 21, 22. and for ſome others too of as great weight, which may be found *in the Lord* Virulam's *Hiſtory of* Henry VII. And yet our Caſe now before us has three Difficulties that had not, 1. A King living. 2. A Prince of *Wales* true or falſe. 3. A Nation divided in Religion; to which I might perhaps add the *Exceſſive Power* of *France*, and the *Exceſſive Zeal* of this Generation to preſerve the Deſcent of the Crown in the Right Line, and in the Legal Steps and Degrees. And this being done, I am perſuaded nothing can divide the *Engliſh* Nation, or leſſen their Zeal and Affection to the Prince of *Orange*, who has deſerved the Crown, if it were ours to give him.

The Poſtſcript, which is an *Hue and Cry* after the *French League to cut our Throats*, I leave to the *Convention*: And if I durſt be ſo bold as to ask a Favour of them, it ſhould be to enquire what the *Ro. Catholick* meant by that Threat of theirs, ſo frequently printed and ſpoken by them, *If fair means would not obtain the Repeal of our* Penal Laws *and* Teſts, *foul ſhould.*

Now for a Conclusion, I would desire you, Sir, to propose your method of Restoring the King, and Securing our *Laws* and *Religion*, and it shall go hard but I will shew you it is impracticable, or impossible, that it will never be granted; or if it be, never observed: And If you please to bless the World with a Receipt of an *Obligation* that will bind the Conscience of any other *Roman Catholick* so fast that neither *Jesuit* and *Pope* can break or untie it, I assure you I will joyn with you in a Petition to the Convention, for a Treaty forthwith, without any other Terms to be proposed than the giving us that Security, whatever it is. And in the Interim, I am,

SIR,

Jan. 24. 1688.

YOURS.

FINIS.